178 565 in the new business or political hierarchy and yet were unwilling to return to their home villages. They had been too long removed from their original environment to feel anything but estranged from it.

178 565 668 Influenced by the idea of democracy which they had discovered in the new schools, the intellectuals began to solicit support from the masses, a move which traditional scholars would not have considered. Robert North's study of the revolutionary Kuomintang and Communist leaders in China shows that the majority of them came from the middle-class, landowning, and merchant families, and had attended modern schools.[12] The labor unions, the peasants' associations, the rural reconstruction experiments, and the Communist Party became the milieu in which the intellectuals began their new career.

178 70 874 555 565 During this period of social and political disorder, military men began to gain power, obtaining offices by virtue of their military success. Rather than despising the military as the older scholars did, many intellectuals began to seek similar careers as a means to power. This tendency began with the opening of the Huang-p'u (Whampoa) Military Academy in Kwangtung for the training of officers for the 1923-27 campaigns

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12. Robert North, Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Elites, Stanford University Press, 1952, pp. 116-21.

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against the warlords. In the war against Japan the prestige of military men was greatly enhanced. A military career has now become a major attraction to ambitious intellectuals as a possible channel for social advancement. Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung, who owe much of their prestige to their military skill, suggest the reputation acquired by military men in the modern period.

III. SOCIAL STRUCTURE UNDER THE COMMUNIST REGIME

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The Chinese Communists, like Communists elsewhere, claim adherence to orthodoz Marxist teachings. They analyze the existing social structure in China in terms of the theory of class struggle and insist on the inevitability of a classless society. In the name of evolving toward this state they justify the liquidation of certain segments of the Chinese population "which stand in the way of the regime." Doing so, they cause changes in the social structure of China.

A. Class Differentiation among the Chinese Population

In his book On the People's Democratic Dictatorship (1949), Mao Tse-tung divided Chinese nationals into those who because of their anti-revolutionary character and their "crimes against the Chinese nation" were deprived of the right to be numbered among the People, and those who were to enjoy all the rights of the People. In the first group were included

873 China were assigned jobs.[48] Supporters of this program said that this would bring to an end the complaint that "graduation means unemployment." But placing so many graduates properly so that everyone of them would make use of what he had studied was not a simple undertaking, and there were undoubtedly many misassignments resulting in dissatisfaction on the part of the students.

D. The Teachers' Training Program

874 As shown in Chart 2, colleges and secondary schools for teacher training have equal standing with general schools on the same levels. The urgent need for trained teachers for schools on different levels was first announced in October 1950 by Ma Hsü-lun, then Minister of Education. Ma told the first All-China Conference on Primary Education and Teacher's Training that, before 1957, according to the planned expansion of schools, China would need 1,000,000 new teachers. Of these, 200,000 would be for "spare-time" schools for peasants and workers, 130,000 for regular

48. New China Daily, Chungking, Sept. 30, 1952, p. 3.

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874 middle schools, 10,000 for colleges, and the remainder for kindergartens.[49] Measures adopted to expedite the training of teachers included the condensation of courses and the establishment of special short-term courses for training primary school teachers who, upon completion of training, would be promoted to teach in junior middle schools. To improve the qualifications of teachers, refreshers courses were organized during vacations and in evenings. In 1953, there were 1,280 such refresher courses throughout China. For teachers in outlying districts correspondence courses were designed in addition to reference materials brought to them by mobile libraries. The Communists claim that 407 counties in China were serviced by mobile libraries in 1953. In the same year, the teachers in 220 counties formed correspondence clubs and exchanged their teaching experiences, thus helping one another to improve teaching techniques.[50] Another measure adopted was the hiring of some high school graduates after a period of apprenticeship to serve as teachers in the schools from which they graduated.

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49. The Slave Culture and Education of the Chinese Communists, p. 23.

50. People's Education, Jan. 1953, p. 23.

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874 These stopgap measures, however, were unable to meet the shortage of teachers pointed out by Ma Hsü-lun in 1950. In 1954, Tung Ch'un-ts'ai, Vice-Minister of Education, still mentioned the possible shortage of 100,000 secondary school teachers in the next five years.[51] Nine months later, a report from the Ministry of Education stated that, according to plan, the expansion of secondary schools in 1954 would need about 28,000 additional teachers. Yet all the teachers' colleges in China would graduate only 9,600 students in 1954. At the same time the teachers' colleges also had to be expanded, thus absorbing a number of graduates. As a result, the Ministry of Education reported, only about 7,600 new teachers would be available for other assignments.

E. Schools for Peasants, Workers, Cadres, and the Illiterate

873 To give political and technical training to peasants, workers, and other "cadres" is one of the basic principles of the Communists'

51. People's Education, Jan. 1954, pp. 17-18.

744 751 Southwest Military and Administrative Region, made a progress report.[3] On the basis of incomplete statistics, he claimed that in 1950 there were in the Southwest 43 public hospitals with 2,935 beds, 79 private hospitals with 2,573 beds, 130 county health bureaus and over 1,800 clinics. He also claimed that there were 2,395 doctors practicing modern medicine, 409 doctor's assistants, 46 dentists, and 2,920 doctors practicing traditional Chinese medicine. Reporting on the subject of preventive measures, he stated that in the spring of 1950 there were 927,800 persons vaccinated against smallpox, including 540,000 who received the service free; for this work 1,179 medical workers were mobilized. For the prevention of cholera and typhoid, 3,500,000 units of vaccine were used. He reported that 1,055,000 persons were given free service in this campaign by late July 1950. [874] The report also disclosed that in the year 1949-50 seven new middle schools for the training of health workers, with a total enrollment of 1,100 students, were founded in the Southwest. In 1950, there were also 52 manufacturers of medical supplies in this region.

3. Cheng-fu Kung-tso Pao-kao Hui-pien [Compendium of Government Reports], Peking Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1950, p. 199; Wen-chiao T'san-kao Tzu-liao [Reference Material on Culture and Education, Series No. 10], Peking, Committee on Culture and Education, 1950, pp. 335-36.

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744 west Region occupies a position of importance in the fulfillment of this aim. In 1952 a school
• [874] was founded in Chungking for the orientation of doctors trained in traditional medicine.[15] In 1953, a special committee was set up to take charge of a study of Chinese medicine under the Chungking branch of the China Pharmaceutical
[278] Society. The committee reported that, among the 233 species of medicinal herbs in common use, 80 per cent were found in the Southwest Region.[16]

On the basis of recent reports, the attempt "to unite the strength of native and Western medicine" may not be progressing smoothly. During the National Conference on Cultural and Educational Work in Peking in 1955 it was reported that the conference criticized the "bourgeois" ideas of certain leaders in the Ministry of Health who were inclined to discriminate against and eliminate traditional medicine; the conference considered the attitude taken by the Ministry of Health toward traditional medicine a "very serious fundamental mistake."[17]

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15. New China Daily, Jan. 28, 1953, p. 3.
16. Ibid., Nov. 18, 1954, p. 2.
17. Survey of China Mainland Press, American Consulate-General, Hong Kong, No. 1068, p. 15.

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729 to JMP$ 29,409,100,000. About 30 per cent
746 of the dependents of "martyrs" and servicemen
657 received this relief, but later the majority of these dependents were obliged to undertake production work.[40]

[873] Some 3,855 children and minor dependents of "martyrs" and servicemen were given government scholarships and financial aid in the three municipalities of Chungking, Chengtu, and Kweiyang, and 19,371 children and dependents in southern Szechwan were given scholarships, the Communists report.[41]

As a measure of encouragement, the Chinese Communists in June and July 1952 mobilized the populace of the Southwest Region to elect "model dependents" of "martyrs" and servicemen, "model disabled veterans," and "model workers for the protection and betterment of the servicemen's families."[42] Those elected were honored by recognition similar to that afforded "labor heroes" during the Land Reform Movement.

729 In September 1954, there were 67 special
874 schools for disabled veterans on the China Mainland, with a total enrollment of 5,000; from these schools, 10,000 graduates had already

40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.

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729 874 gone into construction work.[43] Some of these schools are in the Southwest, but the number and their locations are not known. According to their own criticism, expressed in Communist newspapers, Southwestern schools for disabled veterans are few in quantity and poor in quality.[44]

According to a broadcast in January 1955 by the Minister of Internal Affairs of the Peking regime, incomplete statistics from 13 provinces showed more than 60 per cent of the families of "martyrs" and servicemen had become participants in mutual-aid groups and co-operatives and many were elected officials of these organizations. Others were elected as delegates to the People's Congress or village cadres.[45] The People's Daily reported that 382 rehabilitated veterans were elected "labor heroes" in July 1954.

VII. CONCLUSION

746 In almost all documents concerning public welfare and relief in Communist China, the emphasis is on production rather than the alleviation of suffering. In regard to famine relief in the rural areas as well as unemployment relief in the cities, the people are asked to save

43. Relief Work, p. 19.
44. New China Daily, Feb. 1, 1953, p. 2.
45. New China Monthly, No. 2, Feb. 1955, p. 19.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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665 took place prior to 1955. The reorganization of agricultural producers' co-operatives, which took place in 1955, was the first Party reform movement conducted in the Southwest.

G. Indoctrination and Training

Another way of maintaining Party unity and discipline is by the constant indoctrination and training of each member.[21] This practice is aimed at the revitalization of adherence to Party doctrine.

665 874 Southwest China maintains two schools, a cultural school to raise the general level of education and an ideological school to tighten adherence to doctrine.

In the country as a whole, one half of the cadres, most of them Party member, have less than a junior high school education,

21. Pamphlets published by the 6th Section of Kuomintang on Formosa relative to this subject are of interest: Fei-tang Hsün-lien Ti P'ou-shih [An Analytical Study of Indoctrination of the Communist Party of China], Taipei, 1952; Chung-kung Tang Ti tsu-chih yü K'ung-chih [Organization and Control of the Communist Party of China], Taipei, 1951.

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and some actually are illiterate.[22] To remedy this, a cultural school system, administered by the Party and the government was established in this region in 1951, with the aim of raising the cadre standard to the junior high school level.[23] The course called for two semesters of twenty weeks, with four two-hour evening classes per week. In January 1954, a revised plan was ordered by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, establishing a nationwide system and bringing both individuals and the responsible secretaries below the county and ch'ü levels into the new plan.[24] The plan called for cadre education equivalent to grade school and/or that of junior high school. Also included in the program, and to be completed in three or four months, was a class for the illiterate. Evening schools for the average cadre took twenty weeks at six hours a week. The secretaries and administrative personnel of the Party who were unable to take time off during the day for the supplementary

22. People's Daily, Jan. 22,1954, p. 1.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid.

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665 classes were expected to attend school in the 874 evening.

The purpose of the ideological school is to train Party members, candidates for membership, and leaders of mass organizations. Located in Chungking, the Southwestern ideological school is under the joint control of the Southwest Party Bureau and the Chungking Municipal Party Committee. Together with its 108 branch schools, it trained some 80,000 people in 1952. Instructors are trained in two special schools, where they study such things as Party history, the Party Constitution, and Soviet works on economic reconstruction.[25]

H. Affiliated Party Organizations

668 The Party attempts to utilize the enthusiasm of youth through two organizations which, although not a part of the Party, are under its supervision: the New Democratic Youth Corps (NDYC) and its subordinate group, the Young Pioneers, for youths aged

25. New China Daily, Jan. 17, 1953, p. 1.